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Here, the Department's proposal should be shelved, and I should answer the Soviet letter as planned. It ended with the hope we would for the present let this sleeping dog lie.

The Mission's two code clerks are close to physical exhaustion. They have been at work all day and most of the night for the past week without complaint. This is typical of the Foreign Service spirit as I have seen it for many years; one rarely meets its counterpart in ordinary civilian life.

Thursday, January 2, 1958

Beautiful sunny day; streets icy, good deal of snow on the ground. A report from Moscow describes the New Year's banquet at the Kremlin, in the course of which Khrushchev drank a toast to "direct conversations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, because such conversations could improve the international situation and facilitate a general agreement on big international problems." He added: "This agreement should, of course, not be to the detriment of other nations."

This is another indication of Soviet determination to have, if possible, bilateral talks with us. I have long thought we would probably not be able to explore their real political intentions through any other procedure. Such convers tions should be conducted

secretly and via diplomatic channels, not with the blaring publicity attendant upon a Foreign Ministers' Conference, where too many little Metternichs strut and pronounce.

I bought this morning "Fulness of Days" by Lord Halifax, and look forward especially to reading the account of his Embassy life in Washington. When he was appointed, he had a bad press, but long before the end of his stay he was regarded as a great personality, and held in respect by all and in affection by many. He and his wife were fine examples of the best in the old British aristocracy. E and I went to the farewell party at Decatur House, given by Marie Beale before their departure, when Jim Forrestal presented gifts to them on behalf of all of us.

On each trip to Berlin, I buy quite a lot of art books printed in satellite countries. They are remarkably cheap, paid for in East marks at a rate of exchange of about 4 East marks for 1 West mark. They are collected by an enterprising woman in our Mission, operating in the [redacted]al field. Many of these books are of fine quality and must be heavily subsidized by the Soviet Government.

This afternoon I went with Harding, the Administrative Officer, and several others, to scrutinize locations in the old Embassy quarter, just off the Tiergarten, for possible purchase as a site for an ultimate U. S. residence. Devastation in that neighborhood.

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is almost complete, although a few houses, such as the Swedish Consulate General, have been repaired and stand nobly amidst the ruins. Prices for vacant land there are already [redacted] high, rising to as much as $120,000 an acre. However, I think they will advance further, for the City Fathers have a restrictive zoning plan for this district. We ought to have bought there years ago when costs would have been much lower. But, while we were pouring out billions to rehabilitate West Germany and millions to improve Berlin, the Congress appropriated little so-called "rubber money" and the inefficient FBO could not take advantage of bargain prices prevailing during that period. I must say the attitude of most of our Congressmen, so free-spending when it comes to pork-barrel projects, and so uninquisitive about military budgets, is quite extraordinary regarding anything for the Department of State. The flying of the American flag on the Ambassador's car in Berlin is considered a booster to West Berlin morale. Whether there is merit in this, I do not know, but at least wherever we go there are smiles, handwaving, hat doffing, and a semblance at least of friendship. But the car over which the flag flies is a 1949 Cadillac, looking antediluvian in comparison with thousands of Mercedes, not to mention the inevitable Rolls Royce furnished, I believe, as a prestige item, in all important capitals, to the British Ambassador. In vain,

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party, given in President Heuss' official residence. Hot buttered rum greeted us at the door; thereafter various liquids and a vast variety of cakes, hors d'oeuvres and drinks paraded unendingly. The Mayor and I were forced into corners by photographers, pumped hands and grinned at will. I do like him, but find him harassed. Jeze, the French Ambassador, Generals Rome and Hamlett (and many another stout soldier), all the Consuls General were present, though, somewhat to my surprise, I learned no Soviets had been invited.

I believe I have at last caught the hang of the German customs anent tipping. It is never taken amiss and, if neglected, is noticed. The amount doesn't matter, but the principle does. I now slip coins everywhere, to coat bearers, doormen, domestic servants in other people's houses (this still seems odd), lifters of parcels, drawers of beer, purveyors of condiments; but have, through ignorance, stopped short of possibly affronting station masters and policemen. Formally - and perhaps informally - the Germans are a very polite people, and their language is shaped to this end. "Bitte" and "Danke" can be thrown into any conversation without causing any pain; when uncertain, I use both of them with salutary results.

E told me tonight a story of Talleyrand's security consciousness. It seems one night he burned a compromising document in

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front of a woman friend. He lit it in the fireplace, then placed a shovel and tongs athwart it. When she inquired the reason, he replied it was to prevent a legible fragment flying up the chimney.

I talked to Rebecca Wellington in Bonn on the telephone. The Department has sent us a lengthy instruction on how to handle any interference with air access to Berlin. Our representations in that respect have touched several agencies on the raw, and preliminary as are their conclusions, we are at last crawling toward a position. Having had some experience with the difficulty of achieving coordination in Washington on any important subject, I hate to thrust in the importunate needle, but in this instance we must decide how to react to a number of emergencies.

Our house in Berlin is comfortable, but furnished in unbelievably bad taste. Most of the larger pieces are said to have been purchased from Maples in London, and that firm must have been delighted to expatriate such productions. The coffee pot was filched, to judge from its inscription, from a hotel on the French Riviera, and the provenance of many objects is of questionable legality. Took several lessons tonight in "German Without Toil" from E; Sasha had been my mentor earlier in the day. Before bedding down, I shall run through a phonograph record in this course. Unfortunately, I hear little spoken German. Most of those

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with whom I transact business do not need to study English, they learned it at someone's knees when their minds were receptive. At 9:45 I heard an unfamiliar voice, my own, delivering a fifteen minute broadcast on the American Forces Network.

The news went on to mention the heavy Soviet troop guards on the Sector borders today. They supplemented the East German police, supposedly to screen defectors. Colonel Kotsiuba called today on Hillenbrand and on the British and French Missions to ask after a missing Soviet Sergeant. The press caught wind of the defection. Actually, the individual had deserted to the British jurisdiction and is now in West Germany. He must be an unusual sergeant to have occasioned such a manhunt.

Friday, January 3, 1958

Sunny, cold day. Walked to the office. Usual round of discussions. This afternoon had a try-on of three suits at Frisch and Rohr. I fear they are disappointed I do not order more lavishly, having been spoiled by their former client Goering, who invented costumes of every variety.

Back at the office, I read the six Kennan Reith lectures. I disagree completely with some of his points and conclusions, but they are powerful utterances and expressed with utmost sincerity.

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We left tonight for Bonn, passing [redacted] the frontier without incident.

Saturday, January 4, 1958

To the office. I found there a letter from Chris Herter, as follows:

BEGIN QUOTE

December 23, 1957

Dear David:

Many thanks for your letter of December 13 enclosing a copy of the speech which you made at the Foreign Press Association.

I read it through with great interest and complete sympathy. I wish you were here so we could talk about it.

With warmest regards,

As ever,

Christian Herter END QUOTE

Schwartz, Wellington and I worked at the office this morning to try to coordinate with the British and French a protest to the Soviets on the GDR visa action. There are now three drafts and many amendments, representing a babel of voices.

The SPD has seized upon an alleged rift between Foster Dulles and myself to send out in its confidential circular the following:

BEGIN QUOTE

Leading German politicians from the opposition intend to meet

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with former U. S. Ambassador Kennan in the very near future to discuss with him details of his proposals to neutralize Germany.

Kennan's ideas are secretly endorsed by many "active" U. S. diplomats, provided they are not ardent Dulles' supporters. In this connection I would like to draw attention to U. S. Ambassador Bruce in Bonn . . .

Although in Paris the question of equipping West Germany with rockets played an important role, Bruce calculatedly did not go to the NATO conference. Only a press officer from the U. S. Embassy in Bonn appeared in the French capital.

Bruce identifies himself to a large extent with Kennan's thoughts. Beyond that he is of the opinion that Bonn should finally get active with regard to Washington. His urgent recommendation: the West should not only rearm, but at the same time negotiate. This opinion, however, is hardly in line with Dulles' plans.

END QUOTE

Like the other U. S. Ambassadors to NATO countries (with the exception, of course, of Houghton, who was President Eisenhower's host), I was not invited to Paris for the Conference. Had I been, I would have gladly gone. I am sorry such squibs are given any currency whatever, for if ever I have any views on policy at variance with those of the Department, I trust I am disciplined enough not to utter them

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except to the Department. If instructed to act against my judgment on matters of importance where I feel deeply a major mistake is being made, like anyone else in the Foreign Service, I can either loyally carry out the decisions of our Government or quietly resign.

Jim and Ashley arrived this afternoon from Rome. They were in fine spirits, and it was wonderful to see them again. Ashley and I sat up late talking, before I tested out, for the first time, an electric blanket bought in Berlin. It worked imperfectly, so I shivered all night, half-asleep, without enough gumption to get up and find protective covering.

Sunday, January 5, 1958

Off in a morning coat to the reception at Schaumburg Palace in honor of the Chancellor's 82nd birthday. The old monolith was in top form, and almost every Chief of Mission was there to file by him. He wished me a Happy New Year in English, and later expressed his pleasure over Dulles' personal message of congratulations. I left for him my present of two art books on Venice that I hope he'll enjoy. As usual, his presence was dominating, and his manners perfection.

This afternoon Geoff Parsons of Northrop Aircraft Company came to see me at the house. The British are bitter, as reported in the newspapers, over the failure of FedRep's Defense Department to place a large order for En glish military planes. Accusations are

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made of American pressures being responsible for this, so that U. S. firms might get the business. I know of no such pressures having been attempted in Germany by American officials. Parsons told me that, on the contrary, representatives of U. S. aircraft companies complain of lack of support given them here, whereas their foreign competitors use their Embassies and military personnel to the full in this respect.

Katherine and Kit Steel dined with us tonight. For the first time in Bad Godesberg, I had some 1934 Romanee Conti. It was excellent. Kit is still plugging away on support costs and awaiting the NATO findings due this week.

Monday, January 6, 1958

I started the morning by interviewing, at his request, "Dutch" Meyer, who had been dropped from employment here, on the recommendation of the Inspectors, after 18 years of service as an American Government employee. He is a German, 57 years old, [redacted] capable and aggressive, emotional (he attempted suicide last year) and controversial. I had asked the Department to be allowed to use classified data bearing on the reasons for his discharge - this was refused. He cannot secure employment in any State Department operation, and claims German firms will not hire him because he has worked so long for the U. S. Government. It is, in many respects, a

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sad case.

The Dominican Ambassador, Ortiz, came to see me. He has been busy negotiating a trade treaty with Germany. Having accomplished this, he is moving on to Norway next month on similar business. His jurisdiction is extensive, and he has energy to match it.

Dr. Walter Adams of Michigan State University and his associate, Dr. John A. Garraty, called this afternoon, with a letter of introduction from Senator Hubert Humphrey. They are on a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, and are surveying educational problems, especially in Germany, France, and Turkey. The more men of this type come to Europe the better; their academic training has disciplined them, and it is a relief after listening to politicans to hear detached observations and reflections springing from objective judgment.

I went to see Couve de Murville at the French Embassy, and spent an hour and a half with him. We spoke of diplomatic methods, of national characteristics, of hypothetical political problems, treated eloquently and elegantly by him in the unique French manner. He is a [redacted] superior man, calm, judicious, humorous, and I should think wise and honorable. I like him very much.

He believes all Chiefs of State and Foreign Ministers should for some time deny themselves travel abroad, and be grounded at home. Also, conversations through normal diplomatic channels should

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replace conferences. Moreover, unusual in a Frenchman, he would be happy to have the United States engage in secret bilateral talks with the Soviets, and explore their proposals of every description.

E and Ashley went to Charles Ritchie's farewell reception in Cologne. He is leaving in a few days for his new post at the U. N. He is a universal favorite here.

On his last visit to England, Ashley went to see Eden, who spoke to him for an hour and a half about the Suez crisis. Eden is preparing a book on the subject. Ashley thinks he is seriously ill, and, at best, cannot survive more than a few years.

What a bungle the whole Suez business was. With the fat already in the fire, I think the U. S. was far too zealous about obtaining speedy action in the U. N. We did not display similar effectiveness and impatience over Hungary. I've always wondered why the British stopped so quickly in their tracks at the crack of the U. N. whip. Ashley says it was not because of Soviet threats, but mainly on account of the U. S. Treasury's refusal to support the U. K. during a run on the pound. My usually temperate brother-in-law is bitter over what he considers Dulles' transgressions in the whole affair.

Tuesday, January 7, 1958

Col. Miller, the Air Attaché, and I went down to Wiesbaden by train this morning. Springlike weather. General Everest met me

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at the station, and took me off to an honor guard review with band, but no cannon, thank Heaven. Then we had a [redacted] congenial lunch with him and his staff at the Hotel von Steuben. Previously, in private conversation, we [redacted] found ourselves in full agreement on the Berlin access problem.

The talk of all at lunch was of hunting - we were a gaggle of Nimrods. Afterwards, I went to Everest's house and looked over his personal arsenal.

My old friend, Joe Dasher, Colonel, Interpreter, Protocol Officer, Adviser to Everest, took me to several antique shops. We only had fifteen minutes, but I snatched a 1796 cup and saucer, a Biedermeier saucer, and a contract to buy a small marble topped commode, represented to be 18th century English, but I feel sure it is a Central European, but non-German, piece.

We returned to Mehlem about 7 p.m., in a mild snowstorm.

Wednesday, January 8, 1958

I went to the French Embassy this morning to meet Couve and Steel. We decided on an informal approach to Kotsiuba, by our Berlin political advisers, before we sign a formal note to the Soviet Ambassador to Pankow about the release of the Spandau prisoners.

We decided to send at once to the tripartite working group certain instructions on retaliatory measures in connection with Berlin

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access.

I reported my conversation with Brandt about voting rights for Berlin representatives in the Federal Parliament.

The American Women's Club had a lunch of two or three hundred ladies, of many nationalities, at the Embassy Club. I spoke on the subject of diplomacy. A rapid sweep from the time of Zeus to Clare Luce left me a bit breathless, and I suppose confused the audience. But they took it all [redacted] politely, and I enjoyed it.

I paid for this excursion upon my return to the office, by not being able to read all the telegrams, or attend to a couple of pressing matters. The Norwegian Ambassador was my first visitor. He has been out of circulation for three months, consequent upon a bad case of pneumonia, and still looks enfeebled. His wife and he are said to be in the process of divorcing, and this has cost him the succession to Morgenstierne in Washington, who has just retired after almost 23 years of service there.

Dr. Hanns Dietrich Ahrens, a German public relations expert from Essen - a graduate of Haverford College - followed up recent correspondence by inviting me to give "a lecture" to the Junior Chamber of Commerce in the Ruhr. I think it was this same individual whose plan for me to have a debate with Smirnow before

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a German audience I had already refused. I told him it would not be possible for me to be in Essen on the date now proposed.

We have more data on the Hirschfeld case; it is [redacted] troublesome.

Messrs. Radius, Nelson, Boster and others talked over air access to Berlin, and we hammered out a long cable.

Handler came to see me at the house tonight. Now that Walter Hallstein is leaving the Foreign Office to head the European Common Market Committee, everyone is speculating about his successor, and the favorite in the betting books is Blankenhorn. Personally, I am [redacted] sad over Hallstein's impending departure, but rejoice that this competent, high-toned man has been selected.

Mike thinks the Chancellor will be subjected to much pressure to talk directly to the Soviets. He will be all the more urged to do so by some of his ambitious associates, because of the decline of Eisenhower's prestige in the U.S., which is creating something of a vacuum to be filled by another Western "Man of Peace". The President is in for violent criticism in the Congress and country, much of which will be undeserved, but enough of it credited to undermine his authority as a popular leader. Handler is a strong believer in direct U.S.-Soviet conversations, to be initiated before anyone else [redacted] decides to get into the act. I agree.

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Thursday, January 9, 1958

I left the house at eleven this morning, in full evening dress, white tie, decorations, for the Redoute, where President Heuss received the Chiefs of Diplomatic Missions. The Chancellor and Hallstein were also there.

About seventy diplomats, including several Chargé d'Affaires, were present. After the Papal Nuncio and Heuss had discoursed, the latter promenaded around the circle and completed his task of affability in an hour. Adenauer followed him in the same routine. They were both genial. Next we resorted to another room for photographs, [redacted] then fell on the refreshments.

I reached home at 1:30 to find [redacted] Leo d'Erlanger already there. He had flown over from London to Wahn airport this morning. He wanted to talk to me about certain possibilities of combined British-American private banking operations in connection with the coming into being of the Common Market.

Leo left at 3 p.m. to go back to London. He is a[redacted]t interesting friend, and told us fascinating stories about his grandfather and father in connection with their interests in Tunisia where, even today, as I learned when I was there, the memory of his father is revered by the Arabs, whose language he spoke perfectly.

I sent off the following telegram this evening:

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Friday, January 10, 1958

We left Mehlem this morning for Frankfurt. E lunched with a group of ladies, [redacted] then spent the afternoon with some woman's organization shaking hands and being interviewed. I lunched with Wendell Blancke.

Tonight the American Chamber of Commerce in Germany had a dinner of about 250 people, at which I delivered a speech. There were members from various parts of Germany, including Major General Martin, Assistant Chief of Staff USAREUR, the Lord Mayor of Frankfurt and Mrs. Bockelmann, a representative of the Foreign Office, and various other notables.

I talked on the subject of NATO for nearly 50 minutes, about the usual length of any oratorical excursion upon which one should embark in Germany.

We came back to Mehlem by train and got to bed about 2:30.

The President of the Chamber is Ed Zunek, who is also the head of Adam Opel, the automobile manufacturing concern owned by General Motors. Before the dinner, I had quite a talk with Dr. Carl Blessing, who has just taken up his duties as President of the Central Bank.

In the course of the afternoon, I took a walk and stopped in at the antique gallery of Wilhelm Henrich, Neue Mainzerstr. 31. This place had been recommended to me by Eric Warburg. I was amazed

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at the quality and value of what they had in stock, ranging from early Greek jewelry and Etruscan ware, to the end of the 18th century. I bought a small Augsburg silver gilt cup dated around 1735, made by the famous Drentwett. The proprietor told me he did almost no local business but sold mostly to museums in Germany and elsewhere. He said he had furnished a good many things in the last year to the Metropolitan Museum in New York and to The Cloisters.

Saturday, January 11, 1958

Came to the office this morning. I had the following letter from Foster Dulles:

BEGIN QUOTE

January 8, 1958

PERSONAL

Dear David:

I have your letter of December 23. I got a copy of your address of December 10 and read it with interest and profit. It seems to me to conform entirely to the official line and to have been very well expressed.

I do not know what Scotty Reston said, but I am at least glad that it brought your remarks to my attention.

With best wishes for the New Year to you and Evangeline, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Foster Dulles

END QUOTE

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We finished off a telegram to Berlin as to how the political advisers were to approach Kotsiuba about the partial or complete liquidation of Spandau prison.

This afternoon, E and I went down to Schloss Johannisberg to stay with the Metternichs. We arrived in the dark and found other guests already there, including Tatiana's American USIS brother-in-law from Paris with his wife, one of the Wittgensteins, Peter and Veronica Munster, Otto Bismarck's daughter and her husband, and others. At the conclusion of dinner, we had Johannisberger 1947, a Trockenbeerenausle. It was "liquid gold", as always publicized, and magnificent, but so sweet I should seldom be in the mood to drink more than a glass of it.

Tatiana and her husband are each unusually attractive in their markedly different ways - a pair of charmers. Her conversational powers are almost overwhelming, but [redacted] agreeable and interesting. His mother is Spanish, and I suppose his national origins are wildly mixed. All languages of the West seem to be handled by him with equal skill, and the same is true of his Russian wife. People kept drifting in and out, like the de Mumms and the daughter of Sir Auckland Geddes, once British Ambassador to Washington, married to the head of the Hesse family. This unfortunate and childless couple were wed in Brussels. On the way to the ceremony, in a

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privately chartered plane, crammed with his relations, including a brother, sister-in-law, nephews, nieces and family retainers, as well as the best man, an accident occurred, and all on board perished. Not unnaturally, this drove him into a long stage of depression. The Margrave of Baden also appeared - a likable, game-legged, unpretentious, shy fellow.

I have seldom, if ever, been under one roof with such an excellent company.

The Schloss alone is well worth a visit. Situated on a hill, overlooking the mile-distant Rhine, the views are stupendous. Twelve or thirteen hectares of steep vineyards slope away from the narrow terrace at the back of the house. The castle is large and was completely gutted by fire during the war, when the RAF bestowed attention on it. Originally a monastery, a large church, now restored, runs off one wing. Metternich was given it at the Congress of Vienna, and he remodelled the old ecclesiastical buildings for domestic use in an Italian, or, at least, an Austrian style. The present owner, between 35 and 40 years old, rebuilt the central portion and one wing that formerly housed guests. Downstairs, there is only a dining-room, living-room, kitchen and pantry, with bedrooms above. The other wing gapes to the sky, and the central portion has had a roof thrown over it. The outbuildings have been entirely rehabilitated, and are

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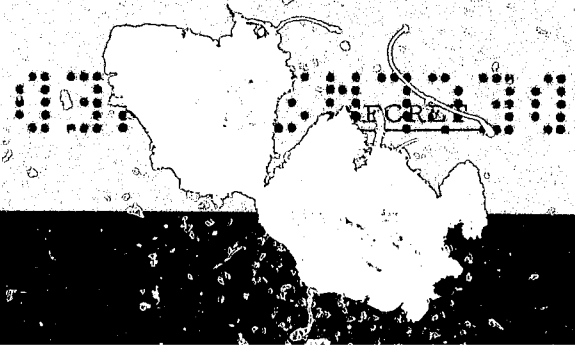
[redacted] pleasing in orange stucco. A tiny garden, a swimming pool, and, across the road, a small park with fine trees, complete the picture.

Sunday, January 12, 1958

It rained during the night, and we sloshed around for a short walk before descending into the wine cellars. The Kellner Meister is the third of his family to occupy this position, a proud, and in wine circles, a famous man, as befits the guardian of the interests of the greatest wine property in Germany. Part of the produce, under the terms of the original gift, goes each year to Archduke Otto, as heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne; I daresay it may be, aside from his fees for lecture tours, his most substantial source of income.

In the underground fastness, where rows of stout barrels are neatly and cleanly aligned, we sampled 1953, 1952, 1945 and 1943 wines, the last, by universal suffrage, the best.

We mounted for lunch, and in the afternoon took our reluctant leave. Next door, Douglas Bazziata, once in the OSS, has been living for eight years with the de Mumm family in their large country house. We stopped there for a pleasant twenty minutes before commencing the two-hour trip home.



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Monday, January 13, 1958

Kurt Lachmann of the U. S. News and World Report, came to see me this morning. He, like many other correspondents, was interested in the possibilities of another Foreign Ministers' or Chiefs of State meeting with the Soviets. I told him it seemed to me useless to have such conferences unless they had been preceded by long diplomatic preparations during which a substantial area of agreement had been found by the interested parties. Of course this applies even more to a summit meeting than to one of Foreign Ministers.

Gaston Coblentz lunched with me. He is a strong advocate of the use of diplomatic channels to search out Russian intentions. He said he realized what a handicap was imposed by the inquisitiveness of newspaper reporters. He wondered if this could not be got around by having talks take place, for example, in the Argentine, between the U. S. and Soviet representatives there. He used this as an extreme example. I told him I thought the best place would be Moscow, since it was most unlikely the Soviet leaders would delegate enough authority to allow any conversations to proceed except at snail's pace. The elsewhere next best locations would be New York and Washington. It seems to me the mere fact that the public would become aware of something important being afoot does not mean conversations could not be carried on in secrecy. The Russians are not notorious for leaking news items unless they

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have chosen deliberately to do so. Therefore, if an American representative would hold his tongue, the necessary secrecy should be possible.

Mr. Fodor, Jr., of VOA in Munich, came in this afternoon. He worked for the Washington Post under Eugene Mayer and Phil Graham, both of whom are [redacted] fond of him. He is a famously engaging character, full of humor, of long experience, now about 68 years old. He was attached to our Army in Italy during the war and considered Gruenther far superior to Mark Clark. He said Clark, because of his [redacted] personality, created by his very presence an air of restlessness and irritation. I have myself always heard he was one of the vainest of men and difficult to deal with.

Tony Satterthwaite was here today. He has been assigned as Deputy Chief of Mission to Copenhagen, but is in the course of spending several months finishing up his work in connection with overflights between Moscow and other Eastern points and the West. This is a complex problem. The Soviets are evidently anxious to expand their civil air operations. The British have already reached an accord for BEA flights from London to Moscow via Copenhagen. This puts Air France, the American lines and others in an unfavorable competitive position unless they can fly across the two Germanies. Morebver, the FedRep would like to have its Lufthansa serve Berlin. The GDR

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desires to break through the Western barriers. This might involve the vexed question of recognition. Any opening up would be a boon to Berlin and would be [redacted] helpful over-all to us.

Tuesday, January 14, 1958

Francis McIntyre of Cal-Tex, with its Hamburg representative, Mr. Bieling, came to see me this morning. Aside from his business activities, McIntyre is making a tour of Europe to investigate the prospective operations of the Common Market, in which he is intensely interested. Francis is an absolutely first-class economist and his reflections on this subject were [redacted] interesting to me. He arrived here today from London where he had seen many of the individuals active in pressing the British views on a free trade area. He feels [redacted] the UK Government is trying to obtain too much and [redacted] give too little and must moderate its present stand.

Altschull of the AP came to see me. He wished to inquire what plans, if any, we had for the liquidation of Landsberg and Spandau prisons. I was not in a position to be [redacted] informative, since we are in the process of approaching the Russians regarding Spandau. He said the repudiation by Acheson of Kennan has aroused great interest, but it is too early yet to assess its consequences in German public opinion, many sections of which were sympathetic to the Kennan thesis.

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Nick Ruffner brought in Brigadier General Hardenberg to see me. He is heading a manpower study group investigating our MAAG.

This afternoon I called on the Haitian Chargé d'Affaires, who is miserable in his temporary quarters on Rolandstrasse. He is a [redacted] pleasant, youngish man and talks like a Parisian.

Dean Rugg, the new Geographic Attaché, visited me, and afterwards I saw four of the newly arrived clerks.

An interesting circular came in from the Department today, asking our views by the first week in February, on the following questions and any other comments they might suggest to us:

1. Strength of present and prospective forces favoring substantive east-west negotiations.

2. Purposes which it is thought such negotiations should pursue.

3. Expectations regarding USSR intentions in such negotiations.

4. Attitudes as to the relation of negotiations to the requirements of maintaining free world strength, e. g., the installation of IRBMs in Western Europe.

5. Preferences as between bilateral United States-USSR, or broader negotiations.

6. Your own assessment of the attitudes and probable

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future actions of the government to which you are accredited on these and directly related matters.

It seems to me this is the kind of reporting that is really challenging, and more of it should be done by embassies. Such a mass of inquiries on a miscellany of matters come in every day where the importance of the reporting is negligible, that much of the time of our best men is used on more or less trifling subjects.

Wednesday, January 15, 1958

We had another incident last night on the Berlin trains. The Soviet officer stopped one of them and demanded to stamp each individual document. The train commander protested and asked for instructions from Heidelberg. USAREUR ordered him to turn back the train, but it was already too late. The commander pulled the safety cord somewhere in East Germany and stopped the train's movement. The East German engineer went off with the locomotive. Wheels began turning this morning, in more senses than one. Our Mission at Potsdam remonstrated with the Soviets over their action, and our three trains which had been affected were allowed to proceed. I imagine we will hear more of this.

Rudi von Wechmer, a German working for the UP, came to see me this morning. He was [redacted] knowledgeable indeed, and gave me a lot of gossip ab[redacted]oreign Office. It seems that no

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Warren Franklin of the Stars and Stripes came in with a photographer to interview me for a profile for his paper. The questions he asked me related entirely to the relationship between U. S. troops and the German population. I told him many of the U. S. Generals must be far better informed on this subject than I. Since I came here, there have been [redacted] few incidents of a major nature called to my attention. Nor do I think even such crimes were more numerous or atrocious than might have happened at home in the vicinity of military camps. I understand the discipline in our armed forces has been much stricter during the past year than in some preceding periods. I have been much struck by the attention which the high officers pay to the question of relationships between the officers and men and the communities they frequent. Time after time, German officials have spoken to me of the helpfulness and generosity displayed by our people toward theirs. I have also remarked the pleasant terms on which local commanders seem to be with the officials of regional and municipal governments. All in all, I fancy there is a happier accord between our men here in Germany and the local population than exists elsewhere in Western countries, with the possible exception of Great Britain, where at least the contacts would probably not be as intimate.

E and I left tonight from Bad Godesberg at 9:48 for Paris.

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Thursday, January 16, 1958

We arrived at the Gare de L'Est at 7:30 a.m. At 9:15, I went to the Palais Talleyrand to meet Randolph Burgess and Joe Wolff. They had little to add to what Kit Steel had told me about the impasse over support costs for the British.

We considered the situation. I said it did not seem to me there was much hope of settling the problem by further British-German bilateral talks, nor did I think a direct approach by President Eisenhower to the Chancellor would now be productive. The German Cabinet has settled the matter in principle by refusing to pay any support costs to any foreign nation. The best forum for this affair is NATO. Could not a further effort be made there to negotiate over the necessity of the Alliance 1. Retaining the bulk of the U.K. forces on the Continent and 2. In order to do so, sharing part of the British financial burden amongst the other members. The principal contributor would be Germany; the others might perhaps be considered to have contributed if they waived claims of their own for future support costs. It would be advisable to devise some formula to make such payments inoffensive in German eyes so they were not remindful of occupation days, and no engagement for future years would be entered into at this time.

The question of France's demands would have to be handled in

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the same context, but scaled down to correspond with the low level of her partially trained troops.

Consideration would have to be given by the U. S. Government to this, and decisions reached:

1. Whether we would abandon any future claims for such payments;

2. What attitude we would take toward our pending request for another 77 million dollars for the current German fiscal year.

Burgess went off to see Spaak, and thereafter to attend a Council meeting, resolved, if possible, to prevent any break, and to pursue the line of trying to reach a solution through NATO.

I motored out to SHAPE headquarters at Rocquencourt. It was a cold, dismal day. I lunched with Cort Schuyler and Ray Thurston. Norstad is in America.

We talked over NATO missile plans and, especially, how I should explain Nike and Redstone stationings to the Chancellor. Cort said that, in spite of the U. K. force reductions, they were still keen to occupy the highest posts in the international staff, and another British officer would succeed Montgomery. The Germans are anxious to better their own representation on the staff, and have at least one high-ranking officer assigned to headquarters. They have, as yet, made no overtures in regard to membership in the Standing Group.

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The Italians also wish to obtain fuller recognition, and I gather that Laurie and Cort have many personnel and personality difficulties.

On my way back, I had another conversation with Randy and Joe. The morning discussion in the Council had gone well in that there was agreement to appoint a Committee to inquire further into ways of satisfying Britain's requests. I joined in a telegram to Washington on the subject.

Tonight, we went to dine with Pauline and Philippe de Rothschild. Earlier I had stopped by the Embassy. Houghton is due back next week from America. I transacted no business except the personal one of arranging with dear Flo Palmer to pay my Jockey Club dues. Monnet is in the United States, to arrange financing for France. The prospects are said to be good, and the black market rate for the franc has declined to 480.

At the Rothschilds' were Nicholas Nabikov and his wife, George and Peggy Bernier (L'Oeil) and Joe Alsop. Previously we had been to see Joe's attractive apartment in the Albany, almost entirely furnished with his own things.

Under the stimulus of good company, excellent food and superb wines (particularly the 1916 Ch. Mouton Rothschild), conversation was not lacking. Kennan's lectures engaged us for an hour or

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two, and it was after midnight when we all dispersed, pretty well pleased with ourselves and unanimous in praise of our host and hostess who have a gift for giving parties large or small.

Friday, January 17, 1958

I went to the Embassy this morning. Then we lunched with André de Staercke at 103 Rue du Bac, in the fine house, once the Swedish Legation, and in the apartment previously occupied by Pierre de Polignac. The others were Pauline and Philippe, and Paul-Henri and Madame Spaak. The President has lost 20 kilos since I last saw him, and his weight is down to 205 pounds. Though there has been a shrinking of the flesh, the high spirits of this remarkable personality are unimpaired. I talked to him about my conversations with Burgess yesterday, and he is hopeful of working something out between the British and Germans. I asked if he thought the neutralization of Germany would lead to the dissolution of NATO; his answer was "Yes."

Like last night, various views were expressed on Kennan's and the Rapacki proposals; neither met with commendation.

We left the Gare du Nord at 5:42 p.m. for Cologne by the express. The trip takes a little over five hours. We went from Cologne to Bad Godesberg by train - only a half hour.

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Saturday, January 18, 1958

I read some telegrams this morning, [redacted] then visited the Chancellor at his house. When I arrived, he was talking to his gardener, delighted at the first appearance of lilies of the valley. We had our usual short talk about pictures. He had just received from the Luces the same book on American painting they had sent me. He flipped over the pages, and said nothing in the last part had favorably impressed him except a portrait by George-Bellows.

Our conversation was summarized by telegrams I dispatched this afternoon.

From Adenauer's I crossed the river and called on Hallstein.

The telegrams were as follows:

BEGIN QUOTE

SECRET

TO: CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG ROUTINE 357

FOR GENERAL HODES ONLY FROM BRUCE

After talking to Chancellor this morning about Redstone and other matters, I took up our Nike difficulties.

It was evident he is not currently familiar with this matter except that some local governments are being troublesome about sites. He observed drily that the French and ourselves had been so hell-bent on democratizing Germany through decentralization that the Federal Government was handicapped in respect to eminent

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domain, and especially where local authority was exercised by politicians of other parties than his own it was easy for them to be obstructive.

At any rate he made notes on the subject and promised to look into it urgently and soon. He mentioned his vague recollection that General Heusinger had approached him regarding it not long ago.

My suggestion is that if possible you talk to Heusinger about this as soon as practicable in advance of Chancellor seeing him. It may be Heusinger himself is confused by overall resurvey now under way (as I understand it from Schuyler) of Nike bases in Germany, but whose conclusions are not expected to affect presently planned US sites. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: SecState WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2201

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

I talked to Hallstein today about his own plans. He will continue nominally in Foreign Office until January 31 but will be absent most of the time before then on Common Market business.

His personal and highly confidential belief is that Brussels will eventually be selected as site all European Community Institutions with probable exception Court of Justice. Meanwhile Bech will have to be satisfied and Hallstein is working on this. Common

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Market Commission will henceforth divide its time as equally as possible between Brussels and Luxembourg. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2200

Chancellor told me today he hoped German assets matter would be speedily resolved in Congress. Soviet Ambassador has been tempting FDP party and its industrial backers with prospects profitable business in Russia. Same applies in lesser degree to Smirnov's campaign amongst SPD. If assets could be returned would counter these Soviet machinations. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

SECRET

TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2197

RPT INFO: PARIS TOPOL ROUTINE 94

CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG 356

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION

USRO PASS USCINCEUR, USNMR SHAPE, THURSTON AND WEST

I discussed Redstone today with Chancellor, since a good opportunity presented itself. He said he appreciated information about our plans, and considered US was correct in equipping its armed forces in Germany with most effective modern weapons. Having satisfied himself this was unconnected with medium range missile question, he said he assumed at proper time our military would make FedRep

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military privy to plans but no further conversations were required on political level. He did not want to be apprised of any technical details.

Also he thought US should, after coordination with German delegation, make oral disclosure to NAC before battalion's departure from America, but for information only. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: SECSTATE WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2198

Dept Circular 620 January 16

I gave Chancellor text in German of President's letter to Bulganin, emphasizing its importance. He had already read it, and said he thought it excellent and strong exposition. He endorsed all major points, and observed he thought it inadvisable for us to tell press his reaction, as line taken by him privately and soon publicly would demonstrate consonance his policy with that of President Eisenhower.

He has no objec[illegible]ying to press I have at President's direction given him c[illegible]ussed major points with him. I shall do so. END QUOTE

Tonight, the Pleasants and the Luchsingers dined with us. What a fine group for conversation! Luchsinger is like enemy spies

in the first World War - he sees, hears and understands everything. He is the Chancellor's newspaper favorite, and thinks, with Hallstein's departure, except for Globke and Brentano, he will have few loyal official intimates, since the others will prepare for their futures in the face of the Chancellor's 82 years. We had Romanée Conti 1934 and other things, including PZ's 1865 Hotel Cavendish Cognac.

I finished tonight a biography of Ouida by Monica Stirling which I had bought in Paris. Very good in parts. Why neither Diana Cooper nor Kay Graham, to whom I gave Under Two Flags did not cry over Cigarette I do not understand. That episode is the only one in literature which guarantees tears for me.

Luchsinger was on some of the Old One's campaign trips. After speaking, shaking hands, and demonstrating all day, the Chancellor used to sit up at night drinking wine with the correspondents, leading the talk, trying to whistle through his fingers, and finally at 2, 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, having drunk the others into sleep or stupor, he would go on to bed, merry as a grig, fresh as a daisy, and with an eight o'clock appointment looming ahead. What a man, even though he is not a Beau Sabreur in the Ouida sense.

After midnight, I set down some thoughts for the opening of the Guggenheim Collection in Cologne. I am dissatisfied with my

Monday, January 20, 1958

The snow was heavy on the Munich rail track, so we arrived at 10:30, an hour and a half late. The Pages and General Moses met us, and we went to the Hotel Vierjahreszeiten, a famous Munich hotel, largely destroyed by bombing, now completely renovated.

I called, with Eddie Page, on the new Minister President, Seidel, and found him [redacted] cordial. We next went to see Lord Mayor Wimmer, a political veteran, about 73, much beloved here. I can understand this, for he is full of Bavarian heartiness and looks like a cheerful companion for a beer hall round. He has taken a great and intelligent interest in the rebuilding of the city.

I attended a stag lunch at Henry Pleasant's apartment with General Gehlen, General Moses, Herr Riedmayer and others.

E went to lunch with Terry Page. After buying a short loden coat and lederhosen, I settled down at the hotel to read material for my lecture this afternoon. This I delivered before the members of the Gesellschaft fuer Auslandskunde at six o'clock. I spoke for about half an hour, [redacted] then answered questions, many of which were loaded and difficult. However, I do not think I compromised American Foreign Policy, even though my remarks centred on nuclear disarmament.

We dined at General Moses' (Commander, SACCM) with him

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and his wife, the Pages, and the U. S. Commanding Generals in Bavaria and their wives (General Harris, 11th Airborne Division, and General Omara, 4th Armored Division). It was a pleasant company. The house was built during the war by Hitler's pal Ley for a girl friend. It is large, with a swimming pool and extensive garden, but its chief feature is its spacious, underground, panelled bomb-shelter, motion picture theatre and bowling alley. Those top Nazis certainly must have dipped into public funds without restraint, and I suppose many of them did a thriving business in private blackmail and extortion.

Tuesday, January 21, 1958

I went to a briefing at the Consulate General, saw representatives of USIS and RFE, participated in the VOA staff meeting, and addressed a few words to an assembly of employees. Then we went to a lunch given in my honor by the Minister President. Afterwards, he and his wife, and knowledgeable, friendly Baron Brandt, Chief of Protocol, took me to a modern picture exhibition. I was interested to see some of the work of Munich's lively artist colony, but was not touched with cupidity.

David Thomson and I went off to visit the antique house of Julius Böhler on Briennerstrasse. The head of the third generation of Böhlers showed us through his expensive collections. I bought

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nothing. At the hotel I read up on NATO, [redacted] then discoursed on that subject for half an hour to an audience at the University of Munich. The ensuing question period was not easy, but I believe I escaped un[illegible]thed as a staunch defender of American Foreign Policy in its NATO aspects. Some of the questions asked were about as follows:

1. What does the U. S. intend to do to help Hungary if there is another revolutionary uprising there?

2. The U. S. wants Germany as an ally, but is treating it like an enemy by not returning the war assets. Why is this?

3. Why is the U. S. against the Rapacki plan and the recognition of Red China?

4. Will the progress already made toward European unity result in a United States of Europe?

5. Will not Soviet economic power before long be equal to that of the United States?

6. What do you think of the Kennan proposals?

Baron and Baroness von Hillingrath had an informal supper party for us this evening, with many charming people, our hostess first of all.

Wednesday, January 22, 1958

David Thomson and I transported the four pictures I had

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brought from Bonn to Frau Andreas Hofer's, on Königstrasse, for cleaning and [redacted] slight restorative touches. They are badly blistered and [redacted] dry, thanks to steam heat. She had been warmly recommended to me by the Chancellor. She repairs, and her husband deals in pictures. We looked for an hour or so at his small stock.

E and I drove out, through beautiful, snow-covered country, for an hour, to lunch with Archduke Otto and his wife in their house near Pöckling. His sister and his equerry were the only other present. This modest establishment is filled with his personality, and a few mementoes of the Hapsburg family. He had returned this morning from a trip to North Africa and the Sahara. He thought at last the French had the military situation in Algeria well in control, and repentant Moslems flocking to them. He was greatly impressed by petroleum developments in the Sahara, and believes discoveries with enormous potentialities have been made there.

What a superior man he is, and how well fitted to be a king, wherever one might be desired. He is head and shoulders above all other aspirants I have heard of in this field, and has been in the whole history of royalty almost the best educated for its tasks. Certainly he is an impressive, objective, sympathetic, well-informed, intelligent human being. Archduchess Regina is German, [redacted] and they have four adorable little girls.

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Tonight we went to an early dinner at the Pages with a lot of attractive people, and then on to a Fasching Ball under the auspices of a German-American Society. These events take place nightly in Munich, sometimes several simultaneously, until the commencement of Lent. A Prince and Princess are selected for the season; they make speeches and dance almost to exhaustion. The Prince was the son of a prominent industrialist and quite witty; his partner was eighteen and pretty. There were a dozen dancing girls in resplendent costumes, and [redacted] supple in movement.

These Fasching balls are wonderful, so it is said; [redacted] like the 18th century Venetian carnivals. Most of them require masks and costumes, and husbands and wives are not expected to go to the same one. Some in the artistic quarter are full of frolic - one lady last year was dressed only in three bananas. Our own was staid, the men in white ties, [redacted] the women in long dresses. E and I had plaques with colored ribbons hung around our necks by the Prince. Our table was filled with charming people, including my immediate neighbor, Hella, wife of Prince Constantine Something.

We left unwillingly to take the 11:43 train.

Thursday, January 23, 1958

We arrived at Mehlem at 8:12 this morning. Joe Alsop is staying with us.

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I had a talk with Mike Handler at the office, [redacted] then spent a good part of the day on the inevitable Berlin access problems. This time the chief problem involved is the Russian demand we allow them to stamp military train travel orders. We had agreed here tripartitely with the British and French on what instructions to give the political advisers in Berlin for conversations with Kotsiuba on the subject. USAREUR was in accord. However, at the last moment, Washington intervened with a telegram refusing this arrangement, saying they were going to try to have it altered by representations made through the Embassies in London and Paris to the British and French Governments. The arguments presented in the Department's telegrams seem to all of us here highly unrealistic, but we will have to start the dreary conversations all over again. Kotsiuba has set January 31 as the deadline for our agreement to his proposals. Otherwise, the trains will be halted.

Mrs. Ransom figured out today, for a report I assume will be submitted with others to Congress, the amount of leave I have taken since I have been here. I arrived on April 11, 1957, and this covers the period from then until December 31. I had two days in June, eight in August, and six in November. I was on consultation for thirty days, mostly during my two trips to Washington and attendance at the Ambassadors' Meetings at Paris and Vienna.

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Eight days were consumed in official travel.

Friday, January 24, 1958

Bill Tyler arrived last night, and I saw him for the first time this morning. It is a great joy to have them here.

Burgess [redacted] called me from Paris yesterday, asking me to explain to the Chancellor that the FedRep must solve the British support question by a liberal contribution. He had sent a telegram on this subject to Washington. The reply was an assent to his suggestion, provided I agreed with it. I have grave doubts about it, and this afternoon discussed the matter with Kit Steel, following which I dispatched the telegram quoted below.

BEGIN QUOTE

SECRET

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON (NIACT)

RPTD TO: AmEmbassy LONDON (NIACT)
AmEmbassy PARIS TOPOL (NIACT)

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DEPT 1895 RPTD INFO PARIS TOPOL 2494 LONDON 5102
POLTO 2146 RPTD INFO BONN POLTO 206 LONDON POLTO 348

Have considered carefully question my speaking to Chancellor about British support costs. Informed members this Embassy are unanimously opposed, and I share their views Adenauer is thoroughly familiar with situation and conversant with U. S. Govt's desire he be as helpful as possible in meeting British demands.

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NATO is seized of problem and Blankenhorn now here can be assumed to have fully briefed him on latest developments. NATO is proper forum for negotiation, and I feel approach by me to restate the obvious would be unproductive and perhaps resented, since I will not be empowered to answer his inevitable query as to our own Govt's attitude regarding U. S. support costs. This last may be decisive element in finding solution, and it is at least essential that Spaak know our position if he is to deal effectively with Adenauer.

Under circumstances, I suggest Burgess be authorized soonest possible to advise Spaak to what U. S. Govt prepared to assent. Chancellor is scheduled to leave here January thirty-first for long vacation.

I have today discussed my possible interview with Adenauer with Ambassador Steel who was absent from Bonn yesterday. He believes it would only be confusing if I were not able to tell Chancellor American Government stand U. S. support costs under various hypotheses, and considers this is missing and indispensable link in NATO negotiations. END QUOTE

Ned Nordness brought in Mr. L. K. Little, Director of Personnel for USIA, to see me. He is an old China hand.

John Rich of NBC called. He seems to me full of good sense.

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[redacted]

The Tylers, Rebecca Wellington and Joe Alsop dined with us tonight.

Saturday, January 25, 1958

I went to Cologne this morning for the opening of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Collection. I delivered a short address to a large audience (see next page). At its conclusion, I found myself, to my own surprise, attempting to explain the importance of sponsorship of modern art even if one did not like it.

Back at the office this afternoon, we had to deal with the Hirschfeld case again. I sent a telegram to the Department on the subject, in the hope they will reverse their position not to have him go to the United States next month.

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ADDRESS GIVEN BY AMBASSADOR DAVID BRUCE
OPENING CEREMONY OF GUGGENHEIM COLLECTION
COLOGNE, JANUARY 25, 1958

The Guggenheim Collection, which we have gathered to enjoy, is highly regarded in my own country. It is the product of the taste of a great American philanthropist, who, especially in the latter days of his life, devoted himself to these acquisitions. Its prime interest is to foster an appreciation of art in the United States, and particularly New York City, by acquainting the public with major examples of painting, sculpture and the graphic arts of the recent past, and by introducing the work of young or lesser known painters and sculptors of quality working in the United States and abroad.

I wish I could do the Collection appropriate honor in introducing it to Cologne. That would require an expert knowledge of painting and sculpture which, unfortunately, I do not possess. Like all of you, I have been a wanderer in galleries, and have derived infinite pleasure from their contents. But an acquaintanceship, no matter how intimate, with art, does not qualify one to speak authoritatively about it. "Otherwise," as the painter Whistler once remarked, "the policeman in the National Gallery might be tempted to assert himself."

Miraculously, much of the art of ancient and modern times has survived the frightful forces of destruction by nature and man. Romantic, and almost incredible tales, could be told by many of the great works now so placidly enshrined in museums. In no other field has the cupidity and

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tenaciousness of possession been so consistently demonstrated. Often, too, the love of beautiful objects has inspired owners to sacrifice necessities for the body to retain sustenance for the spirit. So, despite wars, conflagrations, image-breaking, idol-shattering, wanton, senseless acts, and other innumerable disasters, we are still blessed with a comparative abundance of works of artistic genius.

Popular reaction to art has always been fickle. Paintings, acclaimed and patronized for half a century, have been known suddenly to decline to a nadir, and just as unexpectedly again to regain favor.

But, on the whole, there has been an appreciative public, often late in recognizing great accomplishments, for the highest forms of artistic expression. Many an unrecognized genius has starved in an attic, and even more have attained no recognition while living, but the same could be said of those who have fruitlessly toiled in other callings. Self-satisfaction too often is the painter's or sculptor's only earthly reward, but at least he has striven in a noble arena.

Moreover, the appeal of his works is to the universal spirit in man. Here are no national boundaries, no ethnic or racial barriers, no differences founded on color or religion. His client is the citizen of the world, his touchstone truth as he sees it. In vain, through uncountable frustrations, politicians have tried to unite all humanity under universal

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laws. Always, they have been foiled by nationalistic and philosophical differences. The artist is unconcerned by such impediments. His genius vaults over geographical lines, and often the country of his birth is not the country of his fame.

What we are inaugurating today is a provocative collection in that it includes productions both praised and disparaged by eminent critics. There is a freshness about it which I hope you will find worthy of your attention. It is limited to no school, it represents no exclusive technical credo. I trust it will interest and, in the best sense of the word, amuse you. If so, the generous impulse of the Trustees of the Solomon Guggenheim Foundation in having made the Collection available to the City of Cologne will be amply recompensed.

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Sunday, January 26, 1958

This was a calm day, and I did a lot of reading. This afternoon E and I went, in a driving rain, first to the Indian National Day Reception and then to a similar event given by the Australians. They were both crowded with guests, and there were huge buffets, fiercely attacked by those who intended to make their dinners on the spot.

Monday, January 27, 1958

Capt. Scott brought in Rear Admiral Ferrall, Commander of Mine Forces in the Atlantic, whose home station is Charleston, South Carolina. He is on a four-weeks' swing around Europe.

Georg Baron Manteuffel-Szoeg (CSU Deputy) who is co-Chairman of the League of Expellees, came to see me this morning. His organization has a membership of 2,800,000. In spite of the almost miraculous manner in which the expellees have been absorbed by the German economy, he fears the situation likely to arise if there should be a depression in this country. He says the expellees have not forgotten their homelands and would be likely to fall under the influence of radical leaders if, as might come to pass, they should be the first to be stricken from payrolls during a crisis of unemployment.

George Graveson and Mr. Greenley of RFE came to see me this afternoon, to talk about [redacted] legal difficulties RFE was encountering with a firm controlling music played at RFE studios.

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I called various individuals in Berlin, Frankfurt and elsewhere today to congratulate those whose names [redacted] appeared in the last promotion list. At the Frankfurt Consulate General alone there have been fifteen promotions. On the whole, I think our German contingent fared fairly well, although there were deserving individuals who were neglected.

Graveson and his invalid wife came out to the house this afternoon and had drinks with us and Harry Schwartz. This splendid man is going home and will probably resume his work with the Western Electric Company. His wife is physically so incapacitated as to require constant care. She is almost immobile; it is [redacted] sad.

Joe Alsop had a dinner in a private room at the Hotel Adler tonight for the Handlers, Tyler, Rebecca Wellington and me. He [redacted] spent several hours there yesterday ordering it, and the result was quite remarkable, the food and wines being particularly good. We stayed until after midnight.

Tuesday, January 28, 1958

After handling some urgent telegrams, I left for Duesseldorf this morning with Messrs. Tobin and Tasca. We went with Consul General Ludden directly to the headquarters of the Federation of German Trade Unions (DGB). There I met the chief officers of this organization. They took us to lunch at the Park Hotel, and we sat

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down to an assortment of dishes and wine worthy of a banquet. They are an [redacted] agreeable group of men, most of whom have visited the United States. Mr. Richter made a long speech, and I matched him, in volume of words at least, with a reply. The whole affair was [redacted] pleasant, and I had the impression that we were a [redacted] efficient and amiable group.

I went to the Consulate General [redacted] to meet members of the German press at Mr. Ludden's residence. A great number of journalists assembled there. In addition to those from Duesseldorf, there were publishers and editors from Cologne, Essen, Dortmund, Recklinghausen, Muenster, Wuppertal, Aachen, Bielefeld, Bad Godesberg, Iserlohn, Hattingen, Luedenscheid, Oelde, Duiseburg, Hamm and Paderborn. In all, there were about sixty. I told them any discussion must be off the record, [redacted] then was assailed with the usual questions of a delicate nature, including, of course, the Rapacki plan and the Kennan proposals. This performance lasted a couple of hours, in the course of which I met each person present.

Bill Trimble arrived this afternoon from London, and we went together to a dinner given by the Industriekreis fuer Auslands-beziehungen. The Chairman of this circle is Mr. Martin Liebes, who takes an intense interest in foreign affairs. Those present were:

Wolff v. Amerongen, owner of the firm of Otto Wolff (coal and iron); Duesseldorf.

Alfried Krupp v. Bohlen, owner of the Krupp plants; Essen.

Dr. Wilhelm Alexander Menne, Vice President of the "Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie" (Federation of German Industries); and member of the Board of Farbwerke Hoechst AG (chemicals); Frankfurt.

Dr. Wolfgang Pohle, Member of the Board of Mannesmann AG (steel and steel tubes); former Member of the Bundestag, CDU; Duesseldorf.

Dr. Hans Reuter, President of the Board of DEMAG AG (heavy machinery); Duisburg.

Ernst-Wolf Mommsen, Member of the Board of Phoenix-Rheinrohr AG (steel and steel tubes); Duesseldorf.

Oswald Roesler, President of the Board of Deutsche Bank AG; Duesseldorf.

Vicco v. Buelow-Schwante, Member of the Supervisory Board of Henkel & Cie. GmbH (chemicals), Gebr. Stumm, Dillingen/Saar (coal), and many other companies; Duesseldorf.

D Dr. Heinrich Kost, Pres. of the Board of Rheinpreussen AG (coal mines); Pres. of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Duisburg; Homberg/Ndrrh.

Dr. Ludwig Vaubel, Member of the Board of Vereinigte Glanzstoff-Fabriken AG (synthetic fibres); Wuppertal - Elberfeld.

Dr. Hans Helmut Kuhnke, Member of the Board of Kloeckner AG (coal and steel); Duisburg.

Dr. Herbert Rohrer, Member of the Board of Feldmuehle (paper mills); Duesseldorf-Oberkassel.

Franz Heinrich Ulrich, Member of the Board of Deutsche Bank AG; Duesseldorf.

Dr. Ernst Schneider, Pres. of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, Duesseldorf; Pres. of the Industrie-Club; Pres. of the Board of various companies; Duesseldorf.

The dinner took place at Schloss Jägerhof. This is a beautiful 18th century royal hunting lodge, damaged during the war, but now fully restored. It seems almost inconceivable that, situated as it is in what is now almost the center of Duesseldorf, it was once the location from which so many sporting activities radiated. The top floor is a museum belonging to the city. Dr. Ernst Schneider, President of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, and a director of numerous corporations, was the host. This was [redacted] suitable, for all the furniture and contents of the museum belonged to him. I had heard often of this collection, but was staggered by its quality. Although he has other porcelain, that in the Schloss consists without exception of Saxe pieces and only those manufactured between 1710 and 1755. It is the largest of its kind in the world, either in public or private hands. At the table everything was served on dishes of the same period, and in the dining room vitrines was a lot of superb silver gilt. His furniture, carpets and tapestries, mostly French, are also entirely of the 18th century.

After dinner, we settled down to a couple of hours of frank conversation, especially about U. S. and German foreign policy. It was to me a most interesting evening. Bill and I returned to

Mehlem at midnight.

Wednesday, January 29, 1958

Mr. Whitley Collins, President of Northrop Aircraft Company, General Timberlake and Thomas V. Jones, Vice Presidents of that company, and Geoffrey Parsons, came to lunch with me. After some general talk about aviation matters, I became absorbed in Collins' account of the successful launchings of the "Snark". At ranges of 5,000 miles, it was directed to within two miles of its target. Its explosive force could be somewhere between 7 1/2 and 10 megatons. He had testified about this device last week before the Senate Committee. It is still unclear to me why, if the missile has been such a success, it is not being pushed more rapidly into production. The officers of this company feel that the United States, in spite of Soviet claims, is ahead of the Russians in the ability to exchange nuclear blows but, in the event of war, would suffer a grave handicap in that it would be our enemies and not ourselves who would launch the first surprise attack. For this reason, they consider the retention of foreign bases from which SAC can operate essential, at least for some years to come.

We went tonight to a dinner by President Heuss at the Redoute for the Diplomatic Corps.

Thursday, January 30, 1958

The President's dinner at the Redoute was a great success. I sat between the Turkish and the Panamanian Ambassadresses. The former has been here a comparatively short time, much of it occupied with producing a baby. She is attractive. I was astonished to learn from her that she had been educated first in Germany and then in Hollywood, California. She married an American, and after divorcing him, acquired her present husband, whom I [redacted] like. There were about 150 people at the dinner.

Afterwards, the President talked to me about his desire to go to the United States.

I had a long talk with the Papal Nuncio on the subjects (1) of the lack of appreciation and confidence in the Western world of its own strength and capabilities, and (2) of the American educational system. On the latter, he feels strongly, as I do, that the emphasis on relieving children and teenagers of any real necessity for mental discipline has affected in an unfortunate way the products of our schools and universities. In addition, public school architecture places such an emphasis on space for other than classroom use that schools are over-crowded, though magnificent in appearance. For some years, more conservative educators have objected to the importance attached to teaching "social adjustment". With the present

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furor at home about more school space, I would think it well if the interest of those advocating it could be diverted somewhat to the over-riding importance of enhancing the attractiveness of the teaching profession and to expanding classroom facilities at the expense of auditoriums, bowling alleys and other pleasant luxuries.

Yesterday was Walter Hallstein's last day as a member of the Foreign Office. At the President's dinner, he told me of some of the great changes impending. Today the Foreign Office released to the newspapers some of its new appointments. Van Scherpenberg is to take Hallstein's place. Von Eckardt is also to become a State Secretary, but no definition has been given of his functions. Grewe has been nominated as Ambassador to Washington, since Krekeler has been recalled to serve on the Euratom Commission. The Ambassador in Moscow is [redacted] ill, but no news has come out as to his replacement. Van Scherpenberg's experience has been mostly in the economic field. He is able and was a participant in the July 1944 plot against Hitler. He is married to a daughter of the Old Wizard Schacht.

I sent the following telegrams about President Heuss and conversations I had this morning with the Chancellor.

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After dinner given last night by Pres Heuss for Diplomatic Corps, he engaged me in long conversation about his desire to visit U. S. on invitation from Pres Eisenhower. He said he had been under impression that after his inability, as result serious illness last year, to make trip, offer would be renewed early this year.

Since he feels his health now restored (as evidenced by resumption interminable cigar smoking and formidable wine drinking), he is gazing longingly toward White House. His spirits are somewhat dampened by rumor that Presidents of France and Chile may receive invitations before he does and for earlier dates.

However, his chief concern is the hope of receiving a favorable message on the subject with least possible delay. His recent host, the Pres of Turkey, is growing restless because Heuss has not yet set a date for him to enjoy German hospitality.

On assumption he will be invited, if permitted to express a preference, it would be for end April or early May, although he would come at any other time.

Once on American soil, and having received official attentions, he would take off for New York, New England, Chicago, San Francisco and intermediate points, to visit old friends and make new ones. After this he would rest himself by a boat trip home, so

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as to be in good fettle for the celebration of Munich's eight hundredth anniversary on June 13, which he expects to be a mammoth, uproarious and joyful festival.

This humorous, congenial, scholarly, exuberant and widely respected figure is quite a character, and with the aid of a good interpreter should make an excellent impression in the U.S. He is modest but voluble, dignified but gay. I am sure Pres Eisenhower would enjoy his company. END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL

SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON (PRIORITY) 2342

Chancellor told me today he thought greatest need in NATO organization was competent deputy for Spaak so that SecGen could be freed from some of his burdens and be able to devote more time to those affairs of large importance with which his talents and temperament so admirably equipped him to deal. Also, he considered whole tone of international staff would be improved by more adequate pay.

END QUOTE

BEGIN QUOTE

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SENT TO: SecState WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 2346

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I called on Chancellor this morning and expressed President's view as represented in Reftel.

Adenauer replied that he agreed all free nations must do what they can in this connection. He said he was unaware of exact financial arrangements FedRep had or proposed to enter into, but thought the magnitude involved was between 1.3 and 1.4 billion DM in credits, the major part consisting of guarantees. He was in accord with advisability of keeping mutually informed about plans and actions for this area, and thought this could best be done through economic section Foreign Office and this Embassy or, if we preferred, Ger Embassy Washington.

He made following observations on Indian affairs.

1. From informal conversation with a Tyrolean monk who had lived 18 years in Indian villages, he gathered that the deplorable rise of intense nationalism in such villages had resulted in all foreigners leaving them, to the detriment of the interests of the natives.

2. A noted German professor recently returned from India and, expecting to die in hospital (which he did not) had told Chancellor, rather in the way of a last testament, that unless Indians radically altered their agricultural habits and practices, their plans for raising standard of living would be frustrated. Above all, they must in certain religious sects stop sanctifying cattle and make needed use of their milk, flesh and hides.

3. He had been told the Untouchables did not want their lot

Friday, January 31, 1958

There was a meeting here this morning of political and labor reporting officers from the Berlin Mission and the Consulates General. The discussion covered the following points:

1. Strength of present and prospective forces favoring substantive East-West negotiations.

2. Purposes which it is thought such negotiations should pursue.

3. Expectations regarding USSR intentions in such negotiations.

4. Attitudes as to the relation of negotiations to the requirements of maintaining free world strength, e. g. willingness to accept increased defense burdens.

5. Preferences as between bilateral United States-USSR, or broader negotiations.

6. General expectations as to the future foreign policy course of the Federal Government.

7. Reaction to the NATO meeting, the Bulganin letters, Kennan lectures, and the Rapacki plan.

The expositions were [redacted] interesting. From each locality the opinion was offered that the Kennan lectures, even though unread by the great majority, had made an extraordinary impact. This was

countered in large part by the Acheson rejoinder, especially since the latter destroyed the fallacious idea of Kennan's influence in the Democratic Party and the likelihood of his becoming some day Secretary of State. (The Cabinet supposition had, to my amazement, been stated during my recent visits to Munich and Duesseldorf as having existed widely until dispelled by Acheson's blast.)

Kit Steel stopped to see me this afternoon. Yesterday, he talked to Adenauer and von Brentano about British support costs. They were adamant and offered no encouragement. Spaak is arriving here today in search of a solution, but with the Chancellor departing for the French Riviera, he will be handicapped.

I spent most of the afternoon going over two proposed and important draft reports. One is a 24-page assessment of the German political scene at the beginning of 1958. The other is an answer to six questions propounded by the Department, namely:

1. Strength of present and prospective forces favoring substantive East-West negotiations.

2. Purposes which it is thought such negotiations should pursue.

3. Expectations regarding USSR intentions in such negotiations.

4. Attitudes as to the relation of negotiations to the requirements of maintaining free world strength, e. g. the installation

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of IRBMs in Western Europe.

5. Preferences as between bilateral United States-USSR, or broader negotiations.

6. Your own assessment of the attitudes and probable future actions of the government to which you are accredited on these and directly related matters.

Tonight we had a dinner with these guests: the Ambassadors of Spain and Chile with their wives; Mr. and Mrs. J.A.M. Marjoribanks, British Minister; Berthold Beitz; Dr. and Mrs. Axel Herbst, American Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Mr. and Mrs. Tyler; Countess Almeida; Count Claus Ahlefeldt-Laurvig; Mr. and Mrs. van der Gracht; Lt. and Mrs. Christopher Thoron; and Dave Thomson.

After dinner, I talked to Beitz about his forthcoming trip to Poland, the first he will have made since the war. Ostensibly, he is going to shoot boar, stag, elk and bison, but he expects he will become engaged in conversations on industrial and political subjects. I told him I would communicate with Jake Beam and, if he had anything interesting to report while he was in Warsaw, Beam might provide an appropriate channel.

Saturday, February 1, 1958

Trimble, Tyler, Schwartz, Linebaugh, Buffum, Appling and I spent the entire day, except for lunchtime, working over the

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excellent year-end round-up prepared by the Political Section, and its reply to the questions posed by the Department's airgram on various German attitudes. These are, in my opinion, two most creditable papers, and I hope will be regarded as such at home. (See pages 75 through 107 following.)

John Brown, on his way to Brussels, lunched with us. He is as entertaining as ever, and delighted with his assignment as Cultural Attachś in Rome.

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REF: CA 5771 January 7, 1958 (State Only)

(To be read in conjunction with Embtel assessing German scene at beginning 1958, pouched February 4. See also Embtel 2362.)

1. Several diverse but overlapping elements in Fed Rep pressing actively for substantive negotiations with USSR or at least favoring some form discussions.

Opposition parties SPD and FDP, which together polled about 40% of vote in 1957 national election seek negotiations in part because they provide useful tactic to keep Government on defensive and as corollary their standard charge Government too little interested in reunification.

SPD also advocates negotiations because of genuine fear of war; party includes

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substantial pacifist element and has always opposed "policy of strength," maintaining this serves intensify Russian countermeasures, with resultant stalemate which can be overcome only through diplomatic negotiations. Opportunistic FDP includes active nationalist group which believes Germans inherently superior to Russians and can outnegotiate them.

Next major election takes place in Germany's largest state, North Rhine-Westphalia, in July. SPD and FDP will undoubtedly make major issue of negotiations in general (and Rapacki plan in particular) during campaign, and success at polls would encourage them to intensify their insistence on this point.

Probably most influential element in Fed Rep pressing for negotiations comprises majority of intellegentsia, editors, journalists, academicians, and some in Protestant Church, particularly liberals headed by Martin Niemoeller.

Views of intellectuals in normal circumstances have comparatively little direct and immediate impact on mass of public.

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whose concern about international problems is secondary to such personal matters as wages and prices, and whose politics are much influenced by traditional political affiliations and personal confidence in such leaders as Adenauer. At same time, Germans like most people, have latent fear of nuclear holocaust; from time to time something arouses fear such as break-off of London disarmament talks and dramatic success in missile development by USSR. Public attention has recently been focused on whole area of East-West relations and influence of intellectuals increased.

Such powerful leaders as Press Chief von Eckardt, having good press relations primarily in mind, pressed Chancellor toward negotiations. In addition there are certain Foreign Office officials as well as CDU Deputies who have long advocated active Eastern policy including discussions with USSR. Most important among latter is Bundestag President Gerstenmaier. It is difficult to estimate strength such forces in CDU because of Chancellor's domination of party and because such sentiment is in some cases reflection of resentment at Chancellor's methods of dealing with his own party rather than fundamental disagreement with his policy. As long as Adenauer remains in control, this issue is not likely constitute serious threat to party unity.

2. Few Germans have concrete ideas as to exactly what should be "negotiated" with USSR. Opinion appears to be situation

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bad and something needs to be done about it. For instance, Bundestag adopted resolution January 23, 1958, calling in general terms for negotiations to achieve decreased tension, disarmament, and reunification.

Specific subjects for negotiations with Soviets have centered on various disengagement and neutralization projects such as Rapacki plan, and on latter there is basic difference of opinion between Govt and Opposition. Important development during past year was increasing desire for progress on disarmament relative to urgency attached to early solution of reunification problem.

3. Major anomaly in current situation, where there is undeniably increased pressure for negotiations of some kind, is fact that expectations of positive achievements from such negotiations are low. Although great majority of representatives all parties privately say Soviets are not now prepared make real concessions, many of them argue world situation so serious that, even if prospects for success are dim, effort must at least be made to negotiate.

4. Fortunately, pessimism about Soviet intentions has discouraged pressure for negotiations from leading to decreased willingness to take necessary steps to strengthen country's defenses. This is at least true of Government, which has made it clear that while willing to explore Russian intentions through diplomatic channels, it is necessary to continue with present defense program. Opposition has always

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found it necessary to protest that it, too, believes in adequate self-defense although what SPD means by this is unclear. Amongst general public, although no major backsliding is yet apparent, there is no increased sense of urgency about defense contribution.

Almost regardless stationing other foreign troops, most Germans see their only real protection against Russia in military presence and commitments of US, and many envisage their own contribution primarily as means to assure continuance US support.

German reaction to Sputnik was calmer than in United States and it is doubtful Germans concluded from this they should do more or less in military field. There seems to be, however, general feeling US can and should speed up its military programs to extent required to counter Soviet advances.

We believe if NATO makes convincing case for equipping German army with "tactical" nuclear weapons under US or SACEUR custody, German Govt could implement such decisions even though there would be loud outcry from opposition parties. We believe stationing IRBMs in Fed Rep would create greater problem, whose solution would require most adroit political handling. It will be recalled SPD made major issue of nuclear weapons in 1957 Bundestag election campaign and has just announced opening of renewed campaign on same subject. Although this approach failed discourage significant number voters from supporting CDU, it did force Govt to handle question

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nuclear weapons for Bundeswehr delicately by claiming subject not yet ripe for discussion. However, proposal for NATO nuclear stockpile, with control of warheads resting with United States or SACEUR, makes German domestic problem easier, since Govt can argue German forces do not actually have these weapons.

5. Form which proponents of negotiations with Soviet Union believe they should take is as vague as agenda envisaged. Probably most prevalent expectation is for resumption negotiations on Geneva pattern, but majority would not object to broader participation provided Pankow excluded as full participant. Bilateral US-Soviet negotiations have been advocated only by SPD. While Govt was forced to state defensively it would have confidence in US consulting full with allies in event such negotiations, it clear such statements were made only with greatest reluctance and that Fed Govt and Chancellor in particular, would be highly uneasy at prospect of bilateral negotiations. Chancellor's fear would undoubtedly be he might be presented with accomplished facts, perhaps in form some limited disarmament agreement which he could not reject publicly but which he believed put West in relatively disadvantageous position or prejudiced reunification.

6. A constant in German public opinion is dislike and suspicion of Communism and Russians. West Germans generally support Atlantic community, are aware of reliance on US for security, and tend to see

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